A

SHORT APPEAL

TO THE

PEOPLE of GREAT-BRITAIN,

UPON THE

UNAVOIDABLE NECESSITY

OF THE

PRESENT WAR WITH OUR DISAFFECTED COLONIES.

Proofs riſe on Proofs, and ſtill the laſt the ſtrongeſt.
YOUNG's REVENGE.

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A

SHORT APPEAL,

&c. &c.

THE enemies of Great Britain labour hard to perſuade the ignorant, that our diſpute with America turns wholly upon the power aſſumed by Parliament to tax the Colonies, and tell us, that if this unfortunate claim was but once ſenſibly relinquiſhed, tranquillity would be inſtantly reſtored between the Mother Country and her diſaffected Provinces.

The foregoing ſtate of the caſe however, is extremely fallacious; for the *original* object of contention has been long buried under a pile of new pretenſions erected by the Colonies; and the Queſtion is now no more, whether we are conſtitutionally entitled to impoſe a revenue upon the Americans, but whether we are conſtitutionally entitled to exerciſe any authority over them at all?

Our parliamentary claim to tax the revolted Provinces, was indeed the firſt *ſeeming* foundation of their complaints, but their *real* deſign in *complaining*, was to ſtruggle for abſolute independency. They took care it, is true, at the beginning of the diſpute, to confine themſelves to a ſingle object, for fear of alarming us too much, and declared

in terms of the deepeſt humility, that if they were ſolely indulged with the liberty of granting their own money, they would in every thing elſe, pay the moſt implicit obedience to the authority of Parliament.

But when the Stamp Act was weakly repealed—when the diſobedience of the Colonies was wickedly applauded by the firſt favourites of the people—when our very rulers declared, that the exiſtence of the kingdom eſſentially depended upon America—when it became actually unpopular to talk of parliamentary powers, even within the walls of parliament; and when the nation grew ſo infatuated, as to celebrate with the wildeſt demonſtrations of joy, the victory obtained by the Provinces over her own ſupremecy, the Provincials thought it needleſs to temporize any longer, and accordingly flew from claim to claim with the moſt aſtoniſhing inſolence of rapidity.—In proportion as the Mother Country expreſſed an anxiety to comply with their wiſhes, they roſe in their demands; till at length aſcribing her conceſſions to timidity, they publiſhed a Bill of Rights in the year 1774; and in the year 1775 not only threw off all allegiance themſelves, but invaded the colony of Canada, for daring to continue well affected to our government.

Such then being the *preſent* ſtate of the diſpute with America, it becomes extremely proper, when the Britiſh enemies of Great Britain, propoſe terms of accommodation for the Colonies, to examine what propoſals the Colonies have made for themſelves.

To prove that the war with America was

wholly unavoidable, and to ſhew that the Colonies would not have been ſatisfied if, even *before* the commencement of hoſtilities, parliament had relinquiſhed the claim of Taxation; the following reſolution from the Provincial Bill of Rights, pages 7, 8, and 9, publiſhed in the proceedings of the Congreſs in 1774, is laid before the reader:

" RESOLVED *nemine contradicente*, that the " following acts of parliament are infringe- " ments and violations of the rights of the " Coloniſts, and that the repeal of them is " ESSENTIALLY NECESSARY, in order to " reſtore harmony between Great Britain and " the American Colonies.

" The ſeveral acts of 4 George III. chap. " 15. and ch. 34. 5 Geo. 3d. ch. 25. " 6 Geo. 3d. ch. 52. 7 Geo. 3d. ch. 41 " and 46. 8 Geo. 3d. ch. 22. which impoſe " duties for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue " in America, extend the power of the Ad- " miralty Courts beyond their ancient limits, " deprive the American ſubject of trial by " jury, authorize the judges certificate to " indemnify the proſecutor from damages, " that he might otherwiſe be liable to, re- " quiring oppreſſive ſecurity from a claimant " of a ſhip and goods ſeized, before he ſhall " be allowed to defend his property; and " are ſubverſive of American rights."

" ALSO 12 Geo. 3. ch. 24 intitled, An Act " for the better ſecuring his Majeſty's dock " yards, magazines, ſhips, ammunition and " ſtores," which declares a new offence in " America, and deprives the American ſub- " ject of a conſtitutional trial by jury of

" the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of " any perſon charged with the committing " any offence deſcribed in the ſaid act out of " the realm, to be indicted and tried for " the ſame, in any ſhire or county within " the realm."

" ALSO the three acts paſſed in the laſt " ſeſſion of parliament, for ſtopping the port, " and blocking up the harbour of Boſton, " for altering the charter of government of " Maſſachuſet's Bay; and that which is in- " titled, An Act for the better adminiſtra- " tion of juſtice," &c.

" ALSO the act paſſed in the ſame ſeſſion, " for eſtabliſhing the Roman Catholic reli- " igon in the province of Quebec, aboliſh- " ing the equitable ſyſtem of Engliſh laws; " and erecting a tyranny there, to the great " danger, from ſo total a diſſimilarity of " religion, law, and government to the neigh- " bouring Britiſh Colonies, by the aſſiſtance " of whoſe blood and treaſure, the ſaid " country was conquered from France."

" ALSO the act paſſed in the ſame ſeſſion, " for the better providing ſuitable quarters " for officers and ſoldiers in his Majeſty's " ſervice in North America."

" ALSO, that the keeping a ſtanding army " in ſeveral of theſe Colonies in times of " peace, without the conſent of the legiſla- " ture of that Colony in which the army is " kept, is againſt law."

Here the Colonies inſiſt upon the repeal of *fourteen* different acts of Parliament, many of which have no relation *whatever*, to the impoſition of a revenue; yet we are inceſſantly

ceſſantly aſſured by their adherents on this ſide the Atlantic, that they require nothing in nature at our hands, but to be exempted from the *ſingle* claim of Taxation.

It is beſides well worth obſerving, that the Congreſs in this extenſive attack upon the powers of the Britiſh Legiſlature, mention the repeal of the foregoing acts merely as a *preliminary* to peace, and do not once tell us, that if we even reſcind them *all*, the ſacrifice will be ſufficient to re-eſtabliſh our former tranquillity; on the contrary, they barely reſolve, that "the repeal of them *is eſſentially neceſſary* in order to reſtore harmony," and even more than inſinuate, by an introductory paragraph to the Reſolutions which I have quoted, that if the fourteen obnoxious laws particularly ſpecified in their pamphlet are given up, they are prepared to exhibit a freſh catalogue of grievances.

To prove this aſſertion, it is proper to acquaint the reader, that the Congreſs, having taken a retroſpect of the laws impoſed upon them in former reigns, and modeſtly given themſelves a Bill of Rights to their own mind, maintain the following language in the ſeventh page of their pamphlet publiſhed in 1774.

"In the courſe of our inquiry we find "many infringements and violations of the "foregoing *rights*; which, from an ardent "deſire that harmony and mutual intercourſe of affection and intereſt may be "reſtored, we paſs over for *the preſent*, and "proceed to ſtate ſuch acts and meaſures "as have been adopted ſince the *laſt war*,

" which demonſtrate a ſyſtem formed to " enſlave America."

Such was the printed language of the Colonies, even before the ſword was drawn, yet we are told that they wanted nothing but the liberty of granting their own money, and that we ſhould have been now reaping the plentiful harveſt of their commerce, if we had only given up our unprofitable claim to the impoſition of a revenue.

Nothing, however, can be a clearer proof that the Colonies were, at all events, determined to *create* a ground of quarrel with their Mother Country, than the introduction of the Act which grants the Popiſh religion to the inhabitants of Canada, into the catalogue of their grievances; becauſe the very pamphlet which contains their complaint of this Act, contains alſo a letter to the Canadians, queſtioning not only the ſecurity given to popery, but declaring that the enjoyment of it, is a RIGHT to which they are entitled from the IMMEDIATE GIFT OF GOD.

If the reader will be at the trouble of peruſing a little tract lately publiſhed by NICOLL, intitled HYPOCRISY UNMASKED, OR A SHORT ENQUIRY INTO THE RELIGIOUS COMPLAINTS OF OUR AMERICAN COLONIES, he will ſee this fact, ſingular as it may appear at a firſt view, proved beyond the poſſibility of a queſtion; he will alſo ſee that popery, ſo far from gaining an original eſtabliſhment in Britiſh America by the Canada Act, was eſtabliſhed in Maryland above

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120 years before Canada was ceded to this kingdom; and he will likewiſe ſee, that in the Province of Penſylvania, where the Congreſs is at this moment deliberating, the Roman Catholics are as eligible as Proteſtants, even to the higheſt employments of the Government.

But as it may happen that the reader will not have HYPOCRISY UNMASKED at his hand to conſult, I ſhall extract the paſſage from the 72d page of the pamphlet publiſhed by the Congreſs in the year 1774, where the Delegates, telling the Canadians what rights belong to Britiſh ſubjects, endeavour to flatter them into rebellion, by affecting a warm ſolicitude for their religion, and an ardent admiration for their French anceſtry.—"Theſe (ſay they) are "the RIGHTS you are entitled to, and ought "at this moment in perfection to exerciſe.— "And what is offered to you by the late Act "of Parliament in their place? *Liberty of* "*conſcience in your religion?* — No — *God* "*gave it to you*, and the temporal powers "with which you have been, and are con-"nected, *firmly ſtipulated* for your enjoy-"ment of it. If laws *divine* and *human* "could ſecure it againſt the deſpotic "caprices of *wicked* men, it was ſecure *be-*"*fore.*"

What is the world to think of American ſincerity on a peruſal of the foregoing declaration? The Punic faith ſo ſtigmatized by all the hiſtorians of antiquity, is downright candour, when compared to the profeſſions of the Congreſs—Yet the Ameri-

cans want nothing *more* than an exemption from our revenue laws, though they have unbluſhingly told us that the repeal of an act is *eſſentially neceſſary* to peace, which ſecures the enjoyment of a religion to the Canadians, derived according to their own written aſſertion, from the *immediate gift*, of GOD.

The Colonies, in fact, are either utterly regardleſs of what falſehoods they aſſert, or imagine that the people of Great Britain have not ſenſe enough to diſcover the groſſneſs of ſuch impudent contradictions. In page 41 of the pamphlet which has been ſo repeatedly quoted, they thus addreſs this kingdom, "Place "us in the ſame ſituation that we were at the "cloſe of the laſt war, and our former har-"mony will be reſtored."—The firſt article, nevertheleſs, on the muſter-roll of their grievances is an Act of Parliament paſſed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Eighth, as the reader may ſee by turning to page 1 of the foregoing publication.

It is true, the Americans quibble upon this Act, and tell us, it is not the 35th of Henry the Eighth, to which they object, but the late Reſolution of Parliament declaring that law to be ſtill in force. Let us grant them the weight of this objection, yet let us at the ſame time obſerve, that they were *taxed* from the twenty-fifth of Charles the Second, and bound *in all caſes whatſoever* by ſeventh and eighth of William and Mary *, *above half*

* See this unanſwerably proved, in the Plain Queſtion on the preſent diſpute with our American Colonies, publiſhed by Wilkie.

a century

a century before the late war was commenced. If therefore the ſyſtem of 1763, (the year in which the peace was concluded,) would have ſatisfied the Americans when they publiſhed their long liſt of grievances, they muſt expreſsly acknowledge the injuſtice of their own complaints, and not only admit our right to *tax* them, but recognize moreover the *univerſal* ſupremacy of Parliament.

Perfectly aware of the dilemma in which they are involved, the Colonies labour to change the nature of every Act in former reigns, which makes againſt their cauſe, and contend that all the laws *previous* to the ſtamp duty, were no more than *regulations of trade*, which rendered them poſitively ſubject to a *revenue*. To ſupport this wretched argument, they tell us, that the eſſential words of Taxation are no where to be found in the laws alluded to, and that the Stamp Act was the firſt inſtance, where Parliament aſſumed the power to GIVE AND GRANT the money of the Americans.

Perhaps, if any friend of the conſtitution was to enter into a ſerious refutation of this groundleſs aſſertion, the adherents of America might ſtill continue quibbling on words, and endeavour to confound where they could not convince the underſtanding. I ſhall therefore prove from one of their moſt formidable champions, from Doctor PRICE himſelf, that the money of America was GIVEN AND GRANTED by the Britiſh Commons, not only before the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, but before his preſent Majeſty was born; and the reader will of courſe be ſatisfied

that the ſyſtem of 1763 would have as completely *taxed* the Americans, as the Stamp Act, which they made the *oſtenſible* ground of clamour againſt this kingdom.

" In the ſixth year of George the Se-
" cond, (ſays Doctor PRICE in the 61ſt page
" of his Obſervations on the Nature of Ci-
" vil Liberty) an Act was paſſed for impoſing
" certain Duties on all foreign Spirits, Mo-
" laſſes and Sugars, imported into the Planta-
" tions. In this Act, the duties impoſed are
" ſaid to be *given* and *granted* by the Parlia-
" ment to the King; and this is the *firſt*
" American Act in which theſe words have
" been uſed. But notwithſtanding this, as
" the Act had the appearance of being only
" a regulation of trade, the Colonies *ſubmit-*
" *ted* to it; and a ſmall *direct revenue* was
" drawn by it from them."

Here at laſt we find popularity confeſſing that America was *directly* taxed, even in the all-admired reign of George the Second; yet the Congreſs deny, with the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations, that the Provinces aim at independency, and inſtance the uniform obedience which they have ever ſhewn to our laws, till the preſent unfortunate diſpute, as a proof of their willingneſs to allow us every degree of authority conſiſtent with the conſtitution. Unluckily for the Delegates, we have ſuch things as Courts of Records, and printed Acts of Parliament, to overthrow this preſumptive evidence of good behaviour in the Americans. Even ſo early as the reign of Charles the Second, the leading Province in rebellion, Maſſachuſets

ſets Bay, manifeſted ſuch a paſſion for independency as incurred a forfeiture of charter; and, in the year 1732, the merchants of London trading to America, were obliged to petition Parliament againſt a ſpirit of *more* than independency exerted in ſeveral of the Colonies; theſe Colonies had temerity enough, not only to paſs laws declaring their lands and negroes exempted from demands in debt, but the ſtill farther temerity of laying higher duties "upon the ſhips and goods of perſons reſiding in this kingdom," than they "laid upon the ſhips and goods of perſons (I ſpeak the language of the petition) inhabiting in the ſaid Colonies." Here was a double oppreſſion on the Engliſh merchant; for if in the firſt place, an American debtor turned the produce of any goods which he obtained from the Mother Country, either into lands or negroes, the creditor was without a remedy; and, in the ſecond place, the Engliſh merchant, by being charged with higher duties than the reſident Coloniſt, was robbed of his equality as a ſubject, and actually taxed by the Provincial Aſſemblies, for the circumſtance of living in England. The caſe appearing extremely ſtrong to Parliament, the injuſtice of the Colonies was reſtrained, and the very nature of inheritance abſolutely changed among them by the 5th of George the Second, that freeholds in deſcent might be liable to the claims of Britiſh creditors *.

* See the Plain Queſtion.

In the ſame ſtrain that the Colonies talk of their conſtant good behaviour under our laws, they boaſt of their uniform readineſs upon *all* occaſions to contribute their portion of the public expence when conſtitutionally called upon. They celebrate their own merit, however, in this reſpect with very little juſtice, for if they had merely contributed to the expence of their own government, the Stamp Act would never have been inſtituted. Mr. Grenville, in the year 1764, told all the Colony agents who attended him in a body about the Stamp Act, which was then only in agitation, "that he was not ſet "upon that tax. That if the Americans "diſliked it, and preferred any other method "of raiſing money themſelves, he ſhould be "content. He ſaid, however, the late "war had found us 70 millions in debt, and "had left us more than 140. He knew "that all men wiſhed not to be taxed, "but that in theſe unhappy circumſtances "it was his duty, as a ſteward for the Public, "to make uſe of every juſt means of improving the public revenue. That he "never meant to charge the Colonies with "any part of the intereſt of the national "debt. But beſides that public debt, the "nation had incurred a great annual expence in the maintaining of the ſeveral "new conqueſts which we had made during "the war, and by which the Colonies were "ſo much benefited. That the American "civil and military eſtabliſhment after the "peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was only 70,000l. "per annum; it was now increaſed to "350,000l.

" 350,000 l. This was a great additional " expence incurred upon an American ac- " count, and he thought therefore that A- " merica ought to *contribute* towards it. He " did not expect that the Colonies ſhould " raiſe the *whole*, but *ſome part* of it he " thought they ought to raiſe; and the " Stamp Act was intended for that purpoſe. " Write therefore (ſaid Mr. Grenville to " the agents) to your ſeveral Colonies, " and if they chooſe any other mode, I " ſhall be ſatisfied, provided the money be " but raiſed."

This intereſting narrative I have taken from the 97th and 98th pages of the *Short View of the Hiſtory of the New England Colonies* *, written by Mr. MAUDUIT, one of the agents who attended Mr. Grenville on the above remarkable buſineſs; and whoſe account, (if any ſuch confirmation can be neceſſary,) is confirmed by Mr. MONTAGU, the agent for Virginia, preſent alſo at the conference with Mr. Grenville.

The Colonies being written to agreeably to Mr. Grenville's deſire, the Province of Maſſachuſet's Bay returned the following anſwer to their agent, dated Boſton, June 14th, 1764 †.

" SIR, * * *

" THE actual laying the Stamp Duty, " you ſay, is deferred till next year, " Mr. Grenville being willing to give the

* 4th Edition, and ſold by Wilkie.

† See Mauduit's Short View, page 99.

" Provinces

" Provinces their option to raiſe that, or " ſome equivalent tax; deſirous, as he was " pleaſed to expreſs himſelf, to conſult the " eaſe and quiet, and the good will, of the " Colonies.

" If the eaſe, the quiet, and the good-will " of the Colonies are of any importance to " Great Britain, no meaſures could be hit " upon, that have a more natural and " direct tendency to enervate theſe princi- " ples, than the reſolution you encloſed.

" The kind offer of ſuſpending the Stamp " duty, in the manner, and upon the condi- " tion you mention, amounts to no more " than this, that if the Colonies will not tax " themſelves as they may be directed, par- " liament will tax them.

" You are to remonſtrate againſt theſe " meaſures, and if poſſible to obtain a repeal " of the Sugar Act, and prevent the impoſi- " tion of any further duties or taxes on the " Colonies.—Meaſures will be taken that " you may be joined by all the other agents."

One of the meaſures taken, according to Mr. MADUIT, for the purpoſe mentioned by the province of Maſſachuſſet's Bay, was to print the foregoing letter, and to ſend it to the other Colonies. The conſequence is here fully before the Public.—The Americans not only refuſed to contribute a ſhilling, even upon *earneſt requiſition*, towards the charge of their *own* government, but actually deſired to have a reduction of the little which they had formerly contributed! Yet we are perpetually ſtunned with their readineſs to raiſe

ſupplies,

ſupplies, *whenever* they were *conſtitutionally required*; and eternally told how liberally they would have joined in the common expences of the Empire, if we had barely allowed them the poor indulgence of taxing themſelves.

It is confeſſed by Mr. BURKE in his ſpeech upon American Taxation, page 93, that if the Colonies refuſe to tax themſelves, there muſt be a conſtitutional power in parliament to raiſe a revenue upon them. "Suppoſe (ſays this gentleman) "that requiſitions are "not obeyed? What, ſhall there be no re- "ſerved power in the Empire to ſupply a "deficiency which may weaken, divide, and "diſſipate the whole? We are engaged in "a war—The Secretary of State calls upon "the Colonies to contribute—Some would "do it—I think moſt would furniſh *whatever* "is demanded. One or two ſuppoſe hang "back, and eaſing themſelves, lay the ſtreſs "on others. Surely it is proper that ſome "authority might legally ſay, TAX YOUR- "SELVES FOR THE COMMON SUPPLY, OR "THE PARLIAMENT WILL DO IT FOR "YOU." Such is Mr. BURKE's opinion on this important point; yet Mr. BURKE is one of the foremoſt champions for America, and though an agent for New York, peremptorily denies, that any option of ſelf-taxation was ever offered to the Colonies.

The Congreſs, to aggravate the cruelty of our conduct, talk much of being exhauſted by their over-exertions in the courſe of the late war: they are now however boaſting of their

their immnſeed reſources, and can fin revenues enough to diſtreſs their Mother Country, though they were ſo recently without a ſingle fund, to alleviate the burdens which ſhe generouſly incurred for their protection.

The Delegates remind us frequently o the mighty ſervices which they rendered in the conqueſt of *French* America, during the courſe of the laſt war; but they quite forget that the laſt war was undertaken wholly upon their account, and forget alſo, they are now fighting to wreſt the whole of *Britiſh* America out of our hands.

We are inceſſantly told, how much we are indebted to the commercial utility of the Provinces; that commercial utility was the original end of their eſtabliſhment; yet it ſhould be remembered, that if the Mother Country owes them *much*, they owe *all* to the Mother Country.

As a juſtification of their conduct, the Colonies dwell ſtrongly upon the repeated rejection of their Petitions by both Houſes of Parliament.—This however, is rather an aggravation of their guilt, than an argument of their innocence; for, in the very circumſtance of *petitioning*, they ſolemnly recognized the ſupremacy of the legiſlature; and appealed to that authority which they admitted conſtitutionally competent to decide upon the propriety or impropriety of their ſupplications. Beſides, if every thing preſented in the form of a petition, *muſt* be complied with of neceſſity, there is an inſtant end of all government.—The humility of prayer ſwells up into the deſpotiſm of com-

command, and the meaneſt ale-houſe club may at any time overturn the whole conſtitution.

But to refute the charge of independency brought againſt the Americans, the preſent Congreſs have petitioned the King, that he will graciouſly propoſe ſome plan to re-eſtabliſh the former harmony, which ſubſtituted between the Mother Country and the Provinces. It is true, the Congreſs have petitioned his Majeſty for that purpoſe, yet while they profeſſed themſelves his moſt loyal ſubjects, they have fought againſt his authority; and made the conciliatory propoſal ſent out by his government laſt year, a new foundation of grievances.

The Colonies, tell us that they are our brethren—We admit the claim; but do not ſee that the tenderneſs of this relation gives them a right to rob us of our dominions, or a title to cut the throats of all thoſe who are willing to continue in obedience to our authority.

It is frequently aſked, what we ſhall do if we are not ſucceſsful in the preſent war with America? At any rate we ſhall do as well, as by complying with the demands of the Colonies.—Under the moſt adverſe circumſtances of fortune, we can only pronounce them independent; and it would be no leſs a ſtain upon our national underſtanding, than a ſtigma upon our public ſpirit, to make a diſcretionary ſurrender of every thing at the commencement of a war, for fear we ſhould be defeated in the end.

But

But it is obſerved, in caſe we *ſucceed*, that a chain of ruined Provinces can never anſwer any objects of commerce; and that little is to be expected from the reluctant obedience of a vanquiſhed enemy. To the firſt of theſe remarks I reply, that ruined as the Provinces may be at the end of the preſent war, they will nevertheleſs be in a ſituation infinitely preferable to that in which we originally thought them of conſequence to our commercial proſperity.

With regard to what we are to expect from the reluctant obedience of a vanquiſhed enemy, I anſwer, that we were conquered by the Norman William, yet he found us worth reigning over, though we obeyed him reluctantly. Ireland was conquered by Engliſh arms, yet we have not a more faithful people in our dominions. Wales was alſo conquered, yet we cannot ſay too much in favour of that antient principality; and we now ſee a lately conquered Colony of *French Papiſts* firmly attached to our government, while twelve Proteſtant provinces are in open rebellion, though originally bound to us by every tie of natural affection.

The moſt whimſical declaration of all however is, that our parliaments during the preſent reign, have been infamouſly corrupt; *therefore* the Americans adviſe us to throw the whole weight of the Colonies into the ſcale of the crown, the very power which they pronounce the grand cauſe of all this ſcandalous corruption.

Yet let us for a moment examine the proofs which the parliaments of the *preſent* reign

reign have given of their venality. Since the acceſſion of his majeſty, the Courts of Juſtice have been rendered independent. Parliamentary privilege has been abridged. The ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons has acquired a power to iſſue writs where vacancies occur during the intervals of receſs; (a regulation which materially promotes the intereſts of freedom) and to cloſe the exalted roll of benefits, we have lately acquired a ſecond Magna Charta in the law for regulating the trial of conteſted elections.

Nor has the hand of parliamentary goodneſs been ſolely confined to this kingdom. An effectual ſtop has been put to thoſe barbarities which diſgraced the Britiſh name in the Eaſt, and even repeated attentions have been paid to the commerce of the Colontes. An Act paſſed in the 4th of George the Third, ch. 26, grants a bounty on American hemp and flax. Chapter 27 of the ſame year, allows a liberty of exporting rice from South Carolina and Georgia, to any part of America ſouthward of theſe Colonies, and to any part of Europe ſouth of Cape Finiſterre. The 4th of Geo. III. ch. 29. encourages the Provincial Whale Fiſhery, and the 5th of Geo. III. ch. 35. gives a ſtill farther encouragement to the trade of America *.

* Ireland alſo in the preſent reign, has its freedom greatly ſecured by the act for octennial Parliaments; this benefit indeed was not immediately beſtowed by the Britiſh legiſlature, but ſerves ſtrongly to mark how the love of Liberty has been encouraged ſince the acceſſion of his Majeſty.

Such

Such has been the conduct of thoſe parliaments which the Colonies are hourly execrating; yet as independency is the grand aim of the Americans, we muſt not wonder that they endeavour to render the only power deteſtable, which is able to keep them within the bounds of their original ſubordination.

The Americans profeſs an amazing readineſs to acknowledge a dependence upon the perſon of the ſovereign, but will not be ſubjects to fellow-ſubjects. The reaſon of this diſtinction is obvious; becauſe, if they can once obtain an exemption from the ſupremacy of Parliament, there is no power whatever to keep them in a ſtate of ſubmiſſion to the crown, and they become inſtantly poſſeſſed of their darling independency. It is proper therefore to obſerve, that the monarch of this country glories in being himſelf a ſubject to the laws, and his beſt title is that of FIRST MAGISTRATE TO THE PEOPLE. The Colonies are the *public dominions* of the *realm*, not the *private patrimony* of the *prince:* they were ſubjects to this kingdom when the kingly office was *aboliſhed*, and their conſent was neither aſked to the excluſion of James the Second, nor to the elevation of William at the glorious Revolution.

If any farther proof was neceſſary of the independency aimed at by the Americans, we have it in the common cauſe which they have made of the puniſhment inflicted upon the town of Boſton. In the 41ſt page of their pamphlet they ſay, that "*the ſame* "*might have happened to them all*"—And why ſhould it not, if they had been *all* equally

equally culpable? Society is at an end, if the guilty are not to be puniſhed for fear of alarming the innocent, and the various corporations of this kingdom might with juſt as much propriety riſe in arms, becauſe Parliament disfranchiſed the Chriſtian club at Shoreham, or becauſe a bill of penalties was lately brought in againſt the proſtitute Borough of Hindon.

The endleſs falſehoods in which we detect the Colonies, may convince us that, highly deſirable as peace muſt be, we have but little to hope from the candour of negociation. We cannot truſt the moſt ſolemn engagement of a people ſo perfidious, and were they at this moment inclined to acknowledge the univerſal ſupremacy of the legiſlature, the acknowledgment would not be worth our acceptance, unleſs effectual care was taken to ſecure their obedience for the future.

It is not the change of miniſters *here*, which can produce a change of ſentiments in America, for the Provinces are equally averſe to the Acts of every adminiſtration. LORD ROCKINGHAM bound them *in all caſes whatſoever*. The DUKE OF GRAFTON revived the parliamentary claim to tax them after the repeal of the Stamp Act; and even LORD CHATHAM in his conciliatory plan, page 7, declares that the king cannot render his right of keeping an army in America *dependent* upon the will of the *Provincial Aſſemblies* "without a moſt dangerous derogation from the dignity of his crown;"

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the Congreſs therefore cannot be very deſirous of his lordſhip's return to power, when they have made ſuch a ſacrifice of the royal prerogative an indiſpenſable condition in the ſpecified liſt of grievances. Nothing then remains ſince the Americans have drawn the ſword, but to terminate the quarrel effectually, and to prove that the ſame arm which protected them in the day of diſtreſs, is now able to chaſtiſe the inſolence of their proſperity.

It is ſaid, indeed, that if the Americans are even conquered, we cannot keep them in a ſtate of ſubjection without a large army. Very likely. Yet in that caſe a large army muſt be provided. Should 40,000 men be unequal to the taſk, let 60,000 be raiſed. But it may be aſked by whom ſo prodigious a force is to be paid? I anſwer, by the Colonies undoubtedly. As their rebellion has created the neceſſity of ſuch a military eſtabliſhment, it is ſurely reaſonable that the weight of it ſhould be placed upon their ſhoulders. They now boaſt of being able to pay 200,000 men for the maintenance of civil war, and of conſequence they may well ſupport a fourth part of the number for the preſervation of general tranquillity.

THE END.